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11-12-5a NDP leadership for revision of policy, by Paul Kane (Party leader Deans undertakes reversal of anti-NATO stand)

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FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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03-04-1a

Join Peace Petition Campaign

The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, with its central opposition to the testing of the Cruise Missile in Northern Canada, which is Ottawa's contribution to the perilous escalation of nuclear arms, is well under way. It will be officially launched on March 15 from a central location in Toronto in the presence of an impressive gathering of prominent persons representative of the most vital movements and forces in the country.

Shortly, on April 1st, a massive mobilization of activists in trade unions, womens' organizations, political formations, church groups, cultural and social bodies, commencing in key centers from Whitehorse on the West to St. John's on the East and Aklavik on the North, will blossom out. It will link up all possible support in cities, towns, villages and hamlets from coast to coast behind its four point objective:

Stop the testing of the U.S. Cruise missiles in Canada.

Have Canada declared a nuclear weapons free zone.

Redirect the wasteful spending on the arms race so as to fund human needs and ensure prosperity through peace.

Make these matters the subject of free debate in the House of Commons.

Should a federal election be declared this fall, the campaign will lobby the candidates, attend nominating meetings and all-candidates meetings to raise disarmament issues, and with door-to-door canvassing recruit more supporters for future activities. The great accumulation of signed petitions that will have been picked up from major centers en route by either a caravan of buses and/or a Peace train coming from each coast, will be presented in Ottawa at a massive rally for the government to act upon.

The campaign is the result of a whole series of preparatory meetings and conferences held in Salt Spring Island, B.C., Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg. Last August an initial conference was held in Ottawa in which participated such national organizations as Operation Dismantle, Greenpeace, Voice of Women, the Assembly of First Nations, and prominent individuals including writer Margaret Laurence, publicist Patrick Watson, Ottawa's Mayor Marion Dewar, and leaders of the Canadian Labour Congress.

→ to centre below

The January 3 meeting in Toronto, with the commitment of the trade union movement, gave the campaign a whole new dimension.

Buzz Hargrove, administrative assistant to UAW director Robert White, reported that the UAW has decided to join with TDN to help build a genuine mass base under the PPCC through the active participation of the membership of the trade union movement in the long term task of building a mass movement

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Toronto Trade Union Calendar

Failure to convince Ottawa to pull back from the testing of the Cruise missile over Canada's north has, if anything, provoked the delegates to the Metro Toronto Labour Council into increased action.

At their March meeting they unanimously affiliated the council to the Toronto Disarmament Network and the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign, and voted $1,000 to help fund a full time organizer to mobilize its affiliated membership. The motion was put by Anne Swabrick of the council's Peace and Disarmament Committee. As an opener to its campaign a series of forums at strategic labor centers has been announced.

March 22 — Steelworkers Hall on Cecil St. 8 p.m. "The Myth of Deterence", Michael Cook — Buzz Hargrove.

April 26 — OPSEU hdqtrs. on Grenville St., 8 p.m. "Can we Survive Nuclear Arms Race", Dr. D. Alton — Douglas Saunders.

May 21—OFL Auditorium on Gervais Blvd., 8 p.m. "Impact of Arms Race on the Economy", Mel Watkins — Bob White.

03-04-1b

The peace petition caravan

for peace and disarmament in Canada.

For this purpose Hargrove explained the UAW favored the formation in Toronto of a coalition based on the broadening of the TDN, open to all organizations in support of the PPCC. This was agreed upon, and a steering committee was elected.

Almost 200 delegates from many organizations, welcomed by NDP Premier Pawley, gathered at a February conference in Winnipeg to give the PPCC a bi-national structure. Local coalitions are being formed. The Quebec trade union federations are carrying the campaign into Quebec. Everyone join in the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign!

Policy discussion at Winnipeg rally

The Winnipeg conference held early in February succeeded in giving the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign a pan-Canadian dimension. Within the framework of united determination to build an effective anti-nuclear war movement it also revealed the wide diversity of opinion among the delegates and the peace movement as a whole.

***

While there was general recognition that the chief force in the fueling of the nuclear arms escalation is the U.S. State Department, there were many in the delegations who identify with the anti-nuclear arms protesters everywhere. That also means the peace groups in East Germany which are protesting the installation of soviet missiles in their country, and the independent peace forces that are being brutally harassed and imprisoned in the USSR.

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Testimony to the strong desire to build an open and united anti-Cruise

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movement in Canada was the rejection of an effort by Sudbury delegate and president of Project Ploughshares, Simon Rosenblum, to exclude the Canadian Peace Congress from representation in the conference.

* * *

A proposal to include, along with the already established four points agreed upon by the Caravan Campaign, another — for a nuclear weapons freeze — opened up a debate. Toronto NDP delegate Harry Paine opposed adopting this on the following general grounds: It tends to direct our struggle away from our central effort to build a mass opposition to the nuclear arms drive among the working people here in Canada, directed against the Canadian government; It tends to submerge efforts in the dealings and maneuverings of the rulers of society. Besides, to call for a freeze here in Canada, where there are no nuclear arms under the control of Canadian authorities, tends to muffle our basic position of opposition to nuclear arms — period. Not less — one is too many!

* * *

There are considerable illusions in the peace movement about Prime Minister Trudeau and in particular about the purpose or effect of his so-called peace mission. These are expressed most clearly by the accolades that he has been receiving from the Canadian Peace Congress and the Third Track Committee with which Robert Laxer, June Callwood, George Ignatieff and others are associated. The NDP Anti-war Committee circulated among the delegates copies of a statement by NDP External Affairs spokewomen Pauline Jewett to the House of Commons. It is headed **Peace Begins at Home,** which is also the slogan on a button that is being widely sold in the movement;

"While this self-appointed pilgrim of peace is visiting European capitals, the nuclear arms race, abetted by Canada continues," writes Jewett. Trudeau's efforts are "all for naught" if his own governments policies and actions support the nuclear arms race. "It is not enough for a political leader to go on a peace-making mission if his government's policies do not fulfil basic peace-making objectives," referring to his governments decision to test the Cruise.

She points out that while Trudeau implores other governments to abandon the nuclear arms race, Canada, thanks to federal subsidies, builds components for new weapons systems.

While Trudeau deplores the increasing use of violence in international affairs, he says nothing about the imminence of war "on our very doorstep" in Central America.

Scoring the escalating U.S. military presence in the region, and the mounting threat of a U.S. backed invasion of Nicaragua, she challenges Trudeau: "We wait anxiously for changes in the government's nuclear arms policies and we wait anxiously for Canada's efforts to prevent a U.S. inspired war in our own hemisphere."

forward

(50) Mar.-Apr. 1984

EDITOR: Ross Dowson

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83-84-2
EDITORIAL B.D

A tribute to Pat Schulz who died in Toronto on December 12 after a 12 year struggle with cancer appeared in the January issue of the Ontario Federation of Labour's **Women's Rights Bulletin.**

"She was a key thinker for the daycare movement," reads the eulogy, "and laid the groundwork for labour's policy and program on daycare. Pat's organizing abilities and leadership qualities were extremely important in forming the Ontario Coalition for Better Daycare."

The record of her contribution to the socialist and feminist movement, from the time she joined the struggle in the early 1950's through the CCF, is a lengthy, varied and inspiring one. She became a leading cadre of the Canadian Trotskyist movement organized in the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere where she developed as an organizer, a writer and leading spokesperson until she left in 1974 during a dispute, contributed for a short period to the pages of **Forward,** then immersed herself in the struggle for childcare facilities as a founder of Action Day care.

Scrapping key concepts

Jack Barnes, leading spokesman of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, while recognizing that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution "in all its meanings has been a guiding concept of our entire world movement including the SWP," now argues in a feature article appearing in the fall issue of *New International* that "our movement must discard permanent revolution . . . permanent revolution is wrong . . . it is an obstacle . . ."

The editorial board of *New International,* along with prominent members of the SWP, includes John Riddell, Steve Penner, Joan Newbigging and John Steele of the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League. The Barnes article is the subject of an extended criticism by Cliff Conner in the January issue of *Socialist Action* among whose editors are Les Evans, Dianne Feeley and Nat Weinstein. A subscription can be obtained by sending $6 (U.S.) to Socialist Action Publishing Association 3435 Army Street No. 308, San Francisco, California, U.S.A., 94110.

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Dropping the pilot, the Trudeau years

by The Editors

The resignation of Trudeau after 16 years as prime minister has resulted in a flood of media events constructing a whole mythology about the man, the Liberal party, and the capitalist political process in Canada.

Some are so flagrantly, so embarassingly eulogistic, that they would more properly be uttered over a dead person, when, out of respect for his living associates, one speaks no ill of him. But perhaps on second thought that even accurately explains their character, for the living force which Trudeau has served, we remind ourselves, is that long-trusted tool of Canadian corporate power, the Liberal party machine. Nothing is said of it, yet that is the issue between the Liberals and their Tory opponents as they demonstrate their respective qualifications to serve the capitalist class in the coming elections.

1962, Trudeau protesting against nuclear arms on Sherbrooke St., Montreal. 1984, his government joins nuclear arms escalation by approval of Cruise test flights over Canada.

But one can hardly forget the day before yesterday when it was obvious that the keepers of the Liberal party flame had themselves arrived at an unprecedented unity of conviction that Trudeau, as leader of the party, had to die so that the machine that gives them life would not be snuffed out in the electoral process. Seldom have so many in high public office suffered so long from the agony of restraining their compulsion to do away with a leader. Everyone, friend or foe, agrees that the Canadian people are completely turned off with Trudeau's arrogant and cynical manipulation of their aspirations. His continuing in office imperilled the Liberals, not only in the immediate election which they concede is probably already lost, but possibly even the next one, and they have concluded that nothing so becomes him as his taking off—now.

Among this flood of generalizations and evaluations of Trudeau and his role there are two claims upon which there is more agreement than on others: 1) that he gave Canada a high and respected profile in the corridors of world politics, and 2) that he preserved Canada's unity as a nation.

The fact that he was a highly articulate bi-lingual Quebecker from a bourgeois Franco-Scot background with connections among its intellectual elite was seen to eminently qualify him to solve the Quebec question. While having appeared as a civil libertarian, Trudeau took on the task of burning the nationalist aspirations out of the Quebec people with a white hot iron, to the extent even of imposing the War Measures Act on Quebec and on all Canada,

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TYPESET BY UNION LABOR

forward (50) Mar.-Apr. 1984

EDITOR: Ross Dowson

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the Trudeau years

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arresting and holding incommunicado hundreds of Quebeckers, turning Montreal into an armed encampment, in response to an alleged wave of terrorism which one of its targets, James Cross, has described as "six kids trying to make a revolution."

Trudeau's solution to Quebec's grievances was to open up positions in the federal state apparatus in Ottawa for long frustrated ambitious Quebec technocrats, and to attempt to convince all Canada that it should be and must become a biligual nation.

His illusion, his fantasy of a bi-lingual Canada paradoxically has substance above all only in Quebec, where the object of his obsessive hatred, the separatist Parti Quebecois government, has actually established bi-lingualism, despite the Liberal opposition. Elsewhere across the country Trudeau's efforts have been the encouragment of the funding of French immersion courses in the public school system, which, where it has actually been done, has served essentially those elements among the middle class who see it as a possible career advantage for their children.

It is ironical that on the very eve of his taking off, Trudeau witnessed the Manitoba Tories whip up such a hysterical wave of reaction against the NDP government there that they succeeded in defeating its attempt to partially restore French language rights that had been snatched away almost 100 years ago from the now thinned-out ranks of Francophones.

Trudeau contented himself with the drafting of an all-party statement of support of the Manitoba NDP government's entrenchment of French rights.

With his thoughts on the Quebec voters, whose support is essential if his party is to win federal office, Mulroney underwrote it. But shortly after he recognized the legitimacy of the Manitoba Tories' blockage of francophone rights on the basis that a federal party majority had supported the all-party statement. "After all we're in a free country," he told the press. To Manitoba francophones and defenders of French language rights it must be clearer that bilingualism is a fraud and delusion and that the separatist Quebec government and the NDP are their only possible allies.

As for the high and respected profile that Trudeau is said to have given Canada on the world political arena, isn't it intellectual and verbal ingenuity, something to do with a unique personal style rather than genuine substance that is said to give Ottawa's representatives in the corridors of world politics a dimension far greater than would be due to any accurate assessment of Canada's real position in the world power structure? The record shows indisputably that Ottawa, even more so during the ministry of Trudeau cannot be seriously considered by anyone as having an independent voice but has acted as front runner, as defender and apologist for the U.S. State Department. It is only in this capacity, as a front for others, largely the U.S., that it has presented what is in reality an illusion of authority.

We now learn that when Trudeau took the diplomatic initiative back in 1971 of going to China and Russia, he did so at the urgings of the President of the United States, Richard Nixon.

According to an open letter from Ontario Liberal party executive member W.R. Menzie, that appeared in the **Toronto Star** Jan. 25, 1984, the publicity that the Liberal party got on the eve of an election was thought to be so unfavorable that the Ontario leadership demanded Trudeau grant them a meeting or they would resign en masse. After being sworn to secrecy Trudeau told the 38 members that "he had undertaken these trips at the urging of President Nixon; he had carried the ball for him and taken all the knocks while Nixon came along after him, scored all the touchdowns and was praised all over the world."

Menzies broke his 13 year silence through the **Star** as Mulroney was ridiculing the Trudeau government for its claimed "special relationship" with the governments of the Caribbean Basin and with the US State department, for not having even so much as received a phone call in advance of the invasion and occupation of the tiny island of Grenada.

Trudeau's recent "peace mission" that followed the US State Department's unilateral planking of Pershing and Cruise missiles on European soil, and as Regan budgetted unprecedented sums to arms expenditures, caused officials of the USSR to wonder what Trudeau, who supported all this, thought there was to negotiate over. The mission was ignored in the US also. Trudeau was left to swing in the wind.

The Liberal party machine's "sacrifice" of Trudeau and its determination to come forth with another messiah is bringing the much heralded Tory sweep, with its concomitant shut-out of the NDP, back down to reality.

It's time for the working people to cease the search for some power outside of ourselves, outside of our own consciousness and organized strength to lead us out of the wilderness. For if a messiah could lead us out, just as easily can another lead us back in.

The NDP stands there as a labour party formation firmly rooted in the mass trade union movement — warts and all. Why of course it's not perfect, but isn't that search just another aspect of the messiah complex? It's going to take a mass movement to bring about the necessary changes. It's up to us to use what has been left to us by those who have gone before us. It's up to us to use it, in the face of any opposition, and to shape it to serve our purpose. This time it will be in the campaign and at the ballot box with the NDP.

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03-04-4

Nicaraguan leaders open way to election

by P. Kent

There is nothing that the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua can do but turn all power to the deposed remnants of the murder squads of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and the mercenaries lurking along border points, that will in any way satisfy the U.S. State Department.

Government Coordinator Daniel Ortega has announced, before more than 100,000 people assembled in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution, that Nicaraguans will elect a president, vice-president and a 90 member national assembly this November 4, two days prior to the date when the U.S. elections are to be held. But U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz was completely unmoved by being deprived of his favorite debating point against Nicaragua — that they have no popularly elected government — when he appeared before a Senate hearing recently. Since 1982 the U.S. administration has spent $73 million to wound, kidnap and kill Nicaraguans and destroy their revolution. Some 1,500 have been killed in the war. And Schultz is seeking more in order to extend the mayhem.

The Nicaraguan national security law is to be amended to lift curbs on public campaigning by the political parties and their access to the media. Campaign financing equal to 0.5% of the GNP will be provided. Schultz was skeptical of the franchise qualifications. "I've never heard of a voting age of 16" he said. But it was when Ortega, speaking for the government junta and the Sandinista National Liberation Front, said he considered that 16 year olds had won the right to vote by their massive participation in the revolution that brought a mighty roar of applause sweeping the plaza. Legislation to make this a reality would be recommended to the country's Council of State, he added.

The Nicaraguan leader announced to the crowd which included delegations from more than 50 countries who had come to volunteer cotton and coffee picking, that the amnesty that had been declared for all counterrevolutionaries (excepting their leaders) will be extended until May 4 and he reported that 806 Nicaraguans had chosen to take advantage of the offer.

Ortega defiantly proclaimed that the Nicaraguan people are not tailoring their democracy to the U.S. model of democracy. "We don't want the kind of democracy that in the 1960's denied the vote to several million U.S. citizens for being black and had (segregated) schools, stores, buses and bars for blacks; a democracy where barely 30 per cent of the population participates in presidential elections." Nor does Nicaragua want, referring to Grenada and Lebanon, a democracy that has "military and economic power to threaten and invade those who do not submit to its imperialist schemes."

No, Ortega said, that democracy is part of Somoza's time. "Here we are building our democracy, making our contributions to the democratization of Latin America, especially of Central America."

"We are contributing for the first time in our history to democracy," Ortega proudly reminded those assembled. Democracy for Nicaraguans, he explained, means literacy, people's organizations, workers rights, agrarian reform, sovereignty, independence, and self determination. It means burying selfishness and the exploiters, he said.

A Canadian brigade of some 61 persons who have been working at a state farm in the Leon district of northwestern Nicaragua was bussed into the rally. They formed a contingent, along with other international brigades, behind banners reading "Canadian Brigade — Solidarity", and, "B.C. Workers for Peace and Solidarity".

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Big Brother is listening, there is no place to hide

03-04-5

All telephone calls carried by microwave and transmissions of Telexes, telegrams and bulk commercial information coming in over Canada from a wide range of countries across the globe are being rigorously intercepted and monitored by Ottawa's Communications Security Establishment. The existence of this ultra-secret electronic eavesdropping agency had never been officially acknowledged until Jean-Luc Pepin mentioned it at a September Senate committee hearing on the mandate of the projected new civilian security agency. It was mentioned almost inadvertently by Pepin, then external relations minister, in explanation of the deliberately downplayed one paragraph short Section 18 of Bill C-157.

For years the RCMP Security Service has been working with the CSE which clandestinely ties Canada with the United States, the United Kingdom, along with Australia and New Zealand, into an enormously powerful secret network of listening posts. Section 18 of the proposed civilian security bill, along with its numerous other sections, is designed to legitimize illegal RCMP practices that have roused such widespread public concern — and in this case while scarcely admitting the existence of its systematic intrusion in the economic and political affairs of other countries.

Pepin told the Senate Committee that the new civilian agency would be permitted to provide the CSE with

continued overleaf

RCMP still harassing trade union movement

Over the past year almost a score of top officers in the trade union movement are known to have been visited by RCMP security service officers. Among them was Shirley Carr, Canadian Labour Congress executive vice president, and Farida Shaikh, an equal opportunity officer attached to the national office of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. At least 6 other cases in which CUPE members were contacted by the security service are known, according to an executive assistant of that union.

Carr refused to elaborate on her experience pending discussion with four executive officers of the CLC, but Shaikh told the press that when an RCMP officer approached her at her residence in Ottawa she refused to admit him and referred him to her office. There, several days later, in accordance with union policy, she met him in the presence of the union's national treasurer, Kealey Cummings.

The questions asked by the RCMP officer, which Cummings protested were an infringment of Shaikh's privacy, were related to her interest in the now defunct **Forge** which the RCMP knew she had subscribed to and her connections with the Workers Communist Party whose views the paper expressed. According to Carr the CLC is considering presenting a brief outlining its complaints to Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan.

About the same time Kaplan was confronted with a report in the **Ottawa Citizen** that the RCMP was placing spies in the peace movement. He would neither confirm or deny that an Andy Moxley, a Carleton University student, had been recruited by the RCMP to spy on it.

Big Brother is listening

from overleaf

information on foreign nationals within Canada, but he remained silent when Senate Opposition Leader Jacques Flynn noted that while the "CSE has no distinct legal existence" it could continue to gather information on Canadians by whatever means it uses now. "There is no possibility of knowing or controlling its activities," said Flynn.

Ottawa's Communications Security Establishment is linked to the U.S. National Security Agency with its staff of more than 100,000 computer technicians, cryptologists, translators and intelligence analysts based outside Washington. The Canadian CSE budget is secret, hidden in other defence department estimates. It is said to employ more than 1,000 technicians and operates about 10 listening posts across the country, among them the top secret barbed-wire enclosed city of aerials in Canadian Forces Station Leitrim, just south of Ottawa.

Charles Roach

Toronto lawyer Paul Copeland has been compelled to withdraw from the SRDF legal team due to pressure of other work. We all express our gratitude for his great help. Charles Roach has come forward and will be in court on our behalf on May 29.

How much of the information gathered by the Canadian operation remains in Canada for decoding and analysis and how much is transferred to NSA for analysis at the National Security Fort George G. Meade, Maryland headquarters, or exchanged between the two complexes, has not been revealed. According to MPs Allan Lawrence and Allan McKinnon, who were the solicitor-general and the defence minister in the Tory Clarke government when in 1979 they were the first ministers to visit the CSE Ottawa operations "there isn't any supervision, there isn't any regulation there, and there certainly should be."

In practice, Lawrence said, the agency is controlled by a committee of deputy ministers overseen by Privy Council Clerk Gordon Asbaldeston, that reports to a cabinet committee on security and intelligence chaired by Prime Minister Trudeau. Lawrence told the press that the lack of information and a legal mandate for the agency creates "a very grave potential threat to a citizen's privacy. The potential for abuse is very great."

This concern was also expressed by U.S. Senator Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee: "The capability at any time could be turned around on the American people and no American would have any privacy left. Such is the capability to monitor everything, telephone conversations, telegrams, it doesn't matter. There would be no place left to hide."

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03-04-6

SIS secret police bill moves to critical stage in house

by Ross Dowson

Will the new draft mandate for the so-called "civilian" Security Intelligence Service, approved by the Trudeau cabinet, meet the widespread fear that the first draft provoked? Liberal party members return to the coming session having read a two page confidential report on a revised bill which is to be presented to the house for adoption.

Last time around the Honorable Robert Kaplan threatened that if the bill, then numbered C-157, was not speedily approved by parliament a sharp escalation in espionage and subversive activities imperilled the country. He was seconded in his "hard cop" stance by a former RCMP officer, its director-general from 1970 to 1973, just at the time when the force's illegalities and "dirty tricks" were at their peak. Starnes attempted to dismiss the criticisms of C-157 as "exaggerated nonsense." He red-baited the opposition. "The KGB is watching this debate closely," he warned. "I'm sure that they feel it would be to their advantage if the bill failed." He threatened that "in the past 15 years no less than 14 countries have carried out what are euphemistically called 'unacceptable activities in Canada' which can broadly be defined as subversion and espionage."

Confronted by widespread dissent, hardly an auspicious introduction for the new service designed to submerge the discredited RCMP Security Service, the Liberal cabinet backed off from taking its bill before parliament. It chose to consult a senate committee chaired by its trusted former senior bureaucrat and now Senator — Michael Pitfield. This setup excluded the NDP and provided an opportunity to accomodate the Tories. But even with its velvet glove treatment the senate committee had to concede in this report, paradoxically titled **The delicate balance—a Security Intelligence Service in a Democratic Society**, that the bill, while turning over far-reaching powers to the service failed to adequately safeguard fundamental rights and freedoms of Canadians. It called for changes in almost every section.

The **Toronto Star** editors, who back in June joined in the public outcry with the declaration that C-157 is "fatally flawed in all its major details", now welcome the senate committee's recommendations as being "on the whole excellent." Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry has also swung into line, hailing the senate committee report as "a triumph for common sense" which has effectively "eviscerated" C-157. On the assumption that the new bill will integrate the senate committee's recommendations, and will also record the traditional formality of ministerial responsibility, apparently overlooked in the first draft, the **Star** urges that the government be quick to adopt the suggestions which "would go a long way in removing public fears."

Progressive Conservative party critic Roy Hnatyshyn has refused to declare his party's policy until the new Liberal cabinet version of the SIS mandate comes before the house. The Tory hesitation to support it appears to flow from two contradictory considerations — the handful of so-called "Red Tories" who are in general opposed to curtailments of civil rights, and those who seek to test the situation to see if there is any electoral advantage in responding to opposition by milking the romantic and sentimental illusions about the Royal Northwest Mounted Police-RCMP.

NDP critic Svend Robinson has declared that the NDP will oppose the new bill, even if all the Pitfield recommendations are accepted by the government. Kaplan's legislation "still poses a profound threat to the fundamental civil liberties of all Canadians" he said.

Ross Dowson

If the opposition, though coming from different points of the compass, muster sufficient strength as to possibly force a full debate in the house it is probable that the government, in this election year, will back off, leaving a likely new Mulroney-led Tory government the thankless task of passing the bill. No number of reforms can be won that could possibly change the essential character of the Security Intelligence Service, the heir and direct continuator of the RCMP, from a secret political police force committed to the stability of the capitalist status quo, but along more sophisticated lines attuned to the demands of the 20th century Age of Surveillance.

The two essential, fundamental premises upon which the RCMP dirty tricks were based and which continue to underpin the new Security Intelligence Service are : (1) the myth that in Canada there is an all-pervasive internal subversive enemy established in the various organizations of dissenting opinion and opposition to the status quo, and with influence in the highest levels of society, that threatens to undermine and destroy the Canadian way of life, and, (2) the myth that national security is permanently under assault and endangered by subversive forces from without, which seek to undermine and destroy Canada as a nation and even confiscate the personal possessions of her people.

These dangers are claimed to be so ever-present and so all-encompassing that the provisions of the Criminal Code, the Official Secrets Act, the War Measures Act, or any other decree that the House of Commons, the cabinet or the Privy Council, may pass in an emergency, are insufficient. Nor are the municipal law officers, the provincial law officers, the criminal investigation forces of the RCMP, or even the armed forces with all their authority, adequate to the situation. What is required is a political police force, a secret police force, an intrusive police force, a futures-oriented police force that is not restrained to acting only against real crimes those it is targetted on may commit, but one that interprets their ideology, a thought-control police, that can take "preventive" action.

That was clear to J.S. Woodsworth, CCF leader in the House of Commons, confronted with legislation to establish the RCMP as a federal police force only four years after it had been used to smash the Winnipeg General Strike. He moved that "the present RCMP be disbanded and that there be organized a federal police force for the protection of government buildings and other federal property..."

While a concerted fight for amendments might serve to mobilize the widest possible opposition to the Security Intelligence Service Bill, there are no amendments that can make it possible for the working people of Canada to accept a Security Intelligence Service jackboot on their neck.

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83-84-7

Big bounce to Defence Fund Appeal

by Harry Paine

A considerable number of union activists, union locals and area labour councils, inspired by recent developments in the Dowson suits against the RCMP have re-affirmed their previous support by sending in further funds to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund. And new support continues to build up from all fronts.

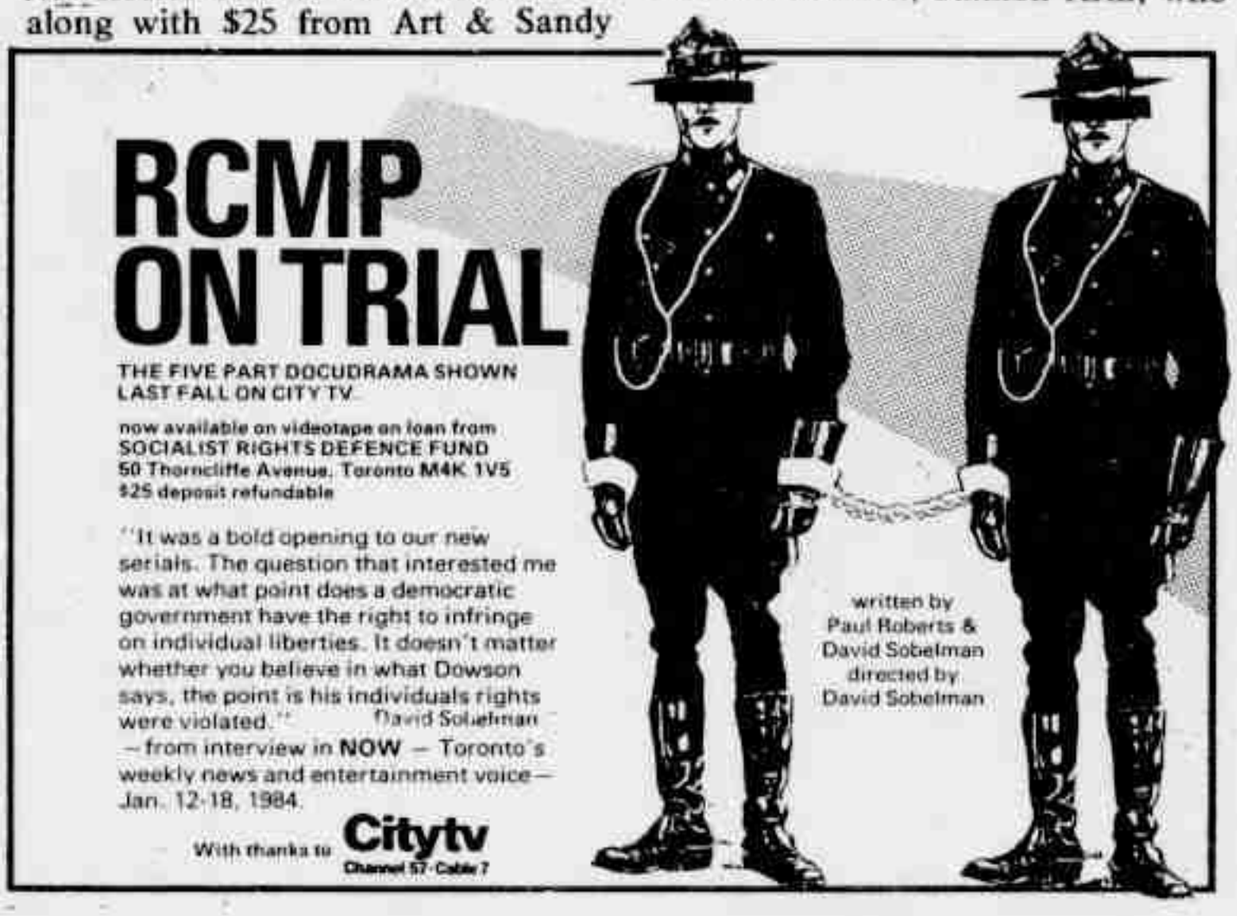
Lumber and Sawmill Workers Local 2693 in Thunder Bay helps again with another contribution of $100. The Kitimat-Terrace District Labour Council comments that it "has read with interest further developments in the case" and expresses the hope that we will receive many such contributions as their latest to enable us to continue the fight. The Brampton and Mississauga District Labour Council confirms its solidarity with another donation.

Geoff Bickerton, director of research of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, sends a contribution "to help in your efforts to bring the RCMP to justice." He is joined by Steelworkers District 6 Representative Don Taylor. Kevin Moloney, president of the Canadian Union of Educational Workers, writes that "the activities of the RCMP have been a real threat to the civil rights of citizens of Canada and have included systematic surveillance and harassment of the organized labour movement. Please accept our endorsement of your efforts and the SRDF statement of purpose and find enclosed a contribution to your fund." Fifty dollars has arrived from the Alberta Red Deer and District Labour Council.

Prominent academics such as Elliott Rose, Chandler Davis and Ted Mann in the Toronto area have also reaffirmed their generous support. Pamela Smith, chairperson of the University of Regina Faculty Association has assured us that the URFA's coming newsletter will familiarize its readers with the SRDF and its purpose. Isabel Sawyer of Burnaby writes "Dear Socialist Rights defenders" the news about the Supreme Court of Canada ruling in our favor "is absolutely the only good news I have read this week." Jesse Vorst, secretary of the Society for Socialist Studies sent us $25. Enclosed were copies of literature including material made available by the SRDF that went to all members of the society.

York Mills NDP Riding Association has forwarded $50. High Park NDP and Organized Working Women activist, Lois Bédard, provided a recent mailing with the costly stamps. Prominent Toronto peace activist Frank Showler reaffirms his support. And Kimberley Wilde, editor of the Ontario NDP Anti-war Newsletter sent in $50 that arrived along with $25 from Art & Sandy Jaszczyk of York Centre NDP. Darwin Charlton, Salmon Arm, who along with J.C. MacLennan of Toronto is a staunch supporter of the fund, asks if Dowson "could possibly manage to get to our (B.C.) leadership convention in May for a visit — might help to give it a nudge in the right direction." He reminds us that he and his three sisters are lifetime NDP members, were members of the CCF, and of the Socialist Party of Canada before that.

The places from which endorsements have come stretch from Vancouver right to St. John, N.B. and points in between such as Vancouver, Edmonton, Wilkie, Melfort, Meyronne, Winnipeg, Swan River, London, Hamilton and Ottawa. This splendid response takes us a long way towards cleaning up accumulated debts and towards re-establishing our credit so that we can deepen the efforts of the SRDF — 50 Thorncliffe Avenue, Toronto, M4K 1V5. Join in!


RCMP
ON TRIAL
THE FIVE PART DOCUDRAMA SHOWN LAST FALL ON CITY TV
now available on videotape on loan from
SOCIALIST RIGHTS DEFENCE FUND
50 Thorncliffe Avenue, Toronto M4K 1V5
$25 deposit refundable
"It was a bold opening to our new serials. The question that interested me was at what point does a democratic government have the right to infringe on individual liberties. It doesn't matter whether you believe in what Dowson says, the point is his individuals rights were violated." David Sobelman
— from interview in NOW — Toronto's weekly news and entertainment voice — Jan. 12-18, 1984.
With thanks to Citytv
Channel 57 · Cable 7
written by
Paul Roberts &
David Sobelman
directed by
David Sobelman

forward (50) Mar.-Apr. 1984

Courts cover-up police spies

by P. Kent

Who controls the police? — a question, while seldom formally posed, has nonetheless loomed up again and again during the past decade of revelations of widespread police illegalities. This question went before the Supreme Court of Canada back in November 1979. Then, Jean Keable, head of the Commission of Inquiry into Police Operations in the jurisdiction of Quebec, authorized by the Quebec Parti Quebecois government, interrupted a public hearing by shouting out that a person who was appearing before him as a witness, a Francois Sequin, was a plant, a Montreal police agent (No. 226). He ordered the Montreal police to turn over their files on Seguin to his commission.

At this point federal authorities intervened to refer the matter to the Supreme Court. This was one of a series of interventions designed to cripple the Keable Inquiry, to circumvent it and to eventually block it with the creation of a creature of their own — the Royal Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice McDonald.

Just a few months ago, in October, the Supreme Court handed down its finding. It ruled unanimously that in courts or government-appointed commissions of inquiry, where popular mythology has it the truth and the whole truth must be laid bare, police officers cannot be compelled to reveal the identities of their informants.

The Supreme Court decision struck down two earlier rulings by lower Quebec courts that had upheld the Quebec provincial government's power to investigate its municipal and provincial police. Only Quebec and Ontario have their own provincial and municipal police forces — all the other provinces contract out this authority to the federal RCMP force. Keable scored the Supreme Court's ruling against Quebec, which had the support of the Ontario, Alberta and New Brunswick governments, as certain to affect every province's efforts to control its police.

His commission's final report to the Quebec government referred to Carole de Vault who became a police agent shortly after the "Quebec Crisis" and who admitted to having actually forged and circulated an insurrectionary communique in the name of the terrorist FLQ. It stressed that "it is important to underline that far from having diminished the terrorist activities of the group she had infiltrated, Mme de Vault's presence prolonged them by guaranteeing immunity to those involved." and stated her role was "closer to provocation than simple information gathering."

Summing up one of the chapters of his report, Keable stated that "far from stopping a resurgence, terrorism was progressively made an object of encirclement of the part of police forces since November 1970. This encirclement closed in at one point to such an extent that (Montreal) police Captain Giguere could boast before (Commissioner) Jean-Francois Duchaine that in the year 1972 the FLQ was us."

Since the Supreme Court has ruled that the police right to confidentiality is virtually absolute and cannot be violated by the provinces, a spokesperson for Quebec Minister of Justice Marc-Andre Bedard said that he hopes to propose a Criminal Code amendment so that a commissioner or judge could force disclosure of names of informers.

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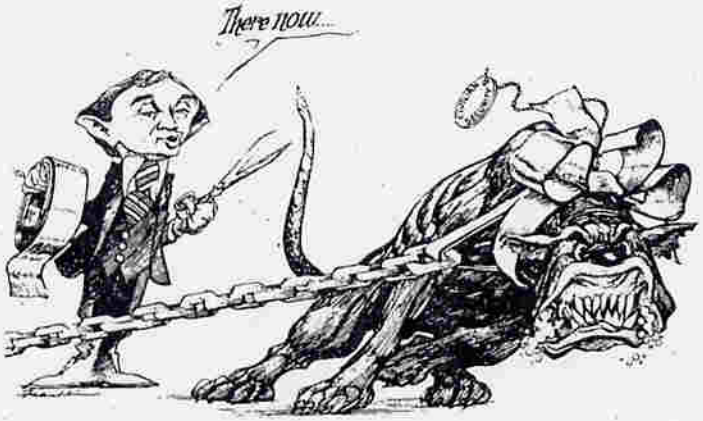


Fed Court go-ahead stalled by Gov't ploy

The lead editorial of Canada's national newspaper hailed the Supreme Court of Canada's unanimous decision that "Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry exercised "dangerous discretion to circumvent the courts" when he blocked Ross Dowson along with Howard Buchbinder from laying complaints against the RCMP for harassment of the groups to which they belonged and other left wing groups in the early 1970s.

McMurtry had been sustained by both the Supreme Court and the Appeal Court of Ontario when he issued a stay of proceedings before a justice of peace could even determine if there were grounds to bring the matter to trial.

The October 15 Globe & Mail editorial headed **The Court Speaks** expressed "trust that McMurtry or if necessary Premier William Davis will see that justice takes it proper course right through the courts." It stressed "this is not a matter of a popularity contest for the Mounties or an unpopularity contest for Trotskyists and left wingers. It is a matter of justice. Real justice prevails only in countries which assure it to their least popular members."

But no sooner did Dowson's lawyer, with the federal Supreme Court's mandamus in hand, appear once again before Justice of the Peace Allen, to urge him to proceed with the laying of the charges — (the court having misplaced its file and Dowson was required to swear them once again)—than Allen, rather than accept the RCMP's sworn admissions before the two different Royal Commissions, instructed him to subpoena Yarowski to appear at another closed preliminary hearing on December 8. On the eve of that hearing the RCMP decided to block the proceedings on the grounds that they were an abuse of process and a violation of the RCMPers' rights under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—and applied for a writ of prohibition. This directed the suit out of Judge Allen's lower court up into the Supreme Court of Ontario on December 16, where it was laid over to May 29.

RCMP loses appeal Dowson suit proceeds

by **Paul Kane**

A setback has been dealt the federal justice department's latest effort in its ongoing attempts to block Toronto socialist Ross Dowson from pursuing his injurious falsehood claim against two top RCMP officers. On December 16 the Ontario Court of Appeal dismissed RCMP lawyer John Laskin's appeal against Judge Zuker's ruling to proceed with the suit, and awarded costs to Dowson.

Ontario provincial court judge Marvin Zuker had earlier this summer rejected RCMP efforts to have Dowson's small claims court suit against Superintendent Ronald Yaworski and former RCMP Superintendent Stanley Chisholm dismissed. "This is Mr. Dowson's first victory in six years of litigation against the RCMP during which he has litigated everywhere from small claims court to the United Nations," noted his jubilant lawyer Harry Kopyto.

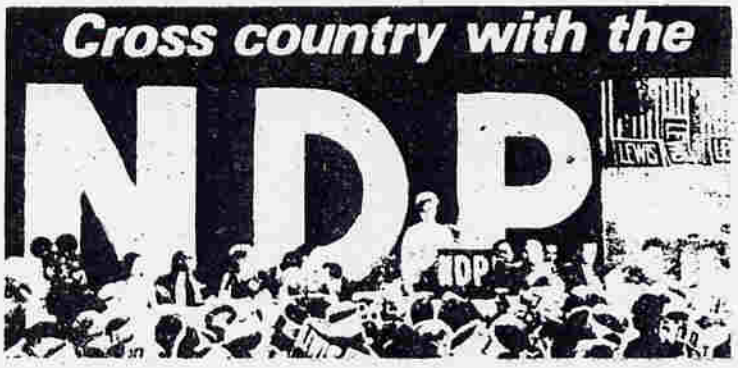
The two senior RCMP officers had been in charge of the infamous "thought control" Operation Checkmate directed to destabilize and if possible destroy a range of left wing organizations of dissident but completely legitimate opinion. Back in March 1979 RCMP officials admitted before a royal commission presided over by Judge Krever that they forged, uttered and circulated false documents to disrupt the League for Socialist Action and its youth organization. In April 1980 the royal commission headed by Judge McDonald released heavily censored hitherto "top Secret" testimony by Chisholm, Yaworski and others on some 14 remembered Operation Checkmate cases. Number 13 dealt with the attempts to destabilize the LSA of which Dowson was the most prominent member.

For the purposes of the motion before Judge Zuker the RCMP lawyer admitted that his clients illegally attempted to disrupt the functioning of the LSA. But he claimed that Dowson's suit should be dismissed on the grounds of the six month statute of limitations. Zuker denied this on the grounds that the RCMP had forfeited that right when they breached Dowson's constitutional rights to freedom of assembly and association, because they failed in the public duty to "protect those who seek to exercise their rights of free action."

In the case before him, Zuker said, no charges against League members could possibly have resulted from their actions. The group was simply exercising its right to freedom of association and assembly. When a public servant goes beyond the scope of his lawful duties, Zuker said, "he enjoys no greater immunity than any other citizen."

Zuker ruled that Dowson could not claim damages on behalf of other members of the League in "a class action" style suit, but could launch a new suit claiming damages only for himself.

Almost immediately the RCMP launched an appeal against Zuker's judgement — even as Federal Justice Minister MacGuigan released a 20 page apology from Ottawa as to why his government would itself not proceed with the McDonald Commission's recommendation that it act against RCMP officers involved in some 865 recorded cases of illegal mail openings. The RCMP appeal claimed that Judge Zuker was wrong on the statute of limitations argument and that he exceeded his jurisdiction. With the court's dismissal of the RCMP appeal, a new date will be set shortly for the Dowson suit's return to the Toronto Small Claims Court.



Laxer urges right swing

The leaking of Jim Laxer's report on the party's economic policy, prepared for the NDP federal caucus, has been avidly seized upon by the capitalist press, radio and TV.

They persistently attempt to magnify differences within the party, both real and perceived, as crises that herald the final, long anticipated break-up and scattering of its forces back into the Liberal-Tory party turnabout. And they also attempt to intervene and to determine the framework of the debates in this labour party formation that historically expresses the conflict between the liberal-reformist programs of the trade union and parliamentary leaderships and the program of working class transformation of capitalist society to socialism.

Where does this 171 page document fit into this fundamental cleavage that persists in the NDP, as it does in other mass labor party formations across the globe?

When he was a leader of the Waffle left wing which pointed up the dependent relationship of the Canadian economy on the U.S. imperialist colossus, and the satellitic character of its Canadian capitalist junior partners, Laxer posed the challenge of an independent socialist Canada - an independent Canada that could only be achieved by the success of a struggle for a socialist Canada.

Like many others who were shown the door, Laxer returned to the party. But while he remains critical of the leadership's policies, all the more in the face of the de-industrialization of the economy which the Waffle clearly foresaw, this document places Laxer unmistakeably with the right wing's strategy of attempting to make capitalism work, and on its right flank to boot. Within the framework of the party's last federal convention debate on policy, rather than being with the Left Caucus, Laxer's document would place him with the Blakeney forces which served to defuse and depolarize the convention.

As he points out, and with approval, "In 1956, the CCF adopted the Winnipeg Declaration, a replacement of the party's original program, the Regina Manifesto of 1933. The Winnipeg Declaration stated that new tools of economic planning had developed since the 1930s which allow the government to set a course for the economy without resorting to widespread public ownership."

Laxer notes the prevailing economic crisis which incidently makes it much more difficult to win, much less accumulate lasting reforms, and so "slip" into socialism, and which finds as "the touchstone of the parliamentary caucus' economic thought" the Keynesian "encouragement of consumption rather than production". But now, the massive cutbacks and closures by the U.S. owners of their Canadian branch plants, the challenge of high tech, of computerization and robotization, requires the caucus, according to Laxer, to emphasize the encouragement of production, not consumption, and the re-building of the economy where he states he "has no quarrel with manufacturing and natural resources staying in the private sector."

While he does not develop any analysis of the present economic crisis as a world wide crisis of capitalism resulting from its outmoded productive relations, Laxer effectively dismisses the NDP and the trade union leadership's "conspiracy theory" and their line that the "Liberals have deliberately set out to create a recession in Canada" which he notes, makes the NDP critique "little more than a sub-set of the Conservative critique."

But in the process of this argument he questions the NDP's characterization of "the Liberals and the Conservatives as the old line parties, Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee". "In the past few years this has been singularly inappropriate," he writes.

Is Laxer suggesting that in the face of the present overriding crisis there is need for some new alignment of forces with the Liberal party or elements in it? He leaves this open to speculation when he continues "although the NDP has been slow to recognize it, the new conservativism both domestically and internationally, is truly the primary political opponent of Canadian social democracy."

James Laxer

What are we to do, according to Laxer? One of the truths "that we must unlearn is that there is necessarily an antagonism between government and the private sector in the running of the economy". Canada, he ads "is too small and too far behind in the competitive battle of the late 20th century to allow itself the luxury of ideological purity--either left-wing or right-wing."

Furthermore, he admonishes, "Canadian labor will have to abandon its historical reliance on the adversarial system" -as if this were something "relied up on" rather than the imposed and fundamental relationship between capital as owner of the means of production and in command of the state, and labor which must sell its work for wages.

It is hard to see how such a document as this can even serve as a useful stepping off point for the debates that it shows the party can no longer afford the luxury of putting off.

Left Caucus plans forums

The Toronto supporters of the Ontario NDP Left Caucus have announced the first two of a series of public forums addressing matters of concern to NDPers and sympathizers. The first will take place on March 24 at noon in the Medical Science Auditorium of the University of Toronto. Jim Laxer's controversial critique of the NDP's Economic Policy will be discussed by David Robertson, Mel Watkins and Simon Rosenblum.

The April meeting will be held on the 17th with the place to be announced. It will be on the NDP and the struggle against the peril of nuclear war. Among the speakers will be Kimberley Wilde, editor of the NDP Anti-War Newsletter, and Richard Johnston, Ontario MLA and initiator of the Ontario Nuclear-Free Zone petition. Two meetings are scheduled for the preparation of Left Caucus participation in the Ontario NDP convention on June 6 and on June 13.

At last fall's annual convention the Left Caucus elected a broad steering committee of 14 persons-composed of an equal number of men and women. Out of the 19 who entered the sharply contested election, eleven were elected from the conference floor. An additional three have been elected from functioning groups in Ottawa, Hamilton and Sudbury.

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What next in B.C. anti-Socred fight?

Page 1

by Ross Dowson

Last year's Socred budget roused a storm of protest that saw the working people of BC launch a series of mass and militant actions the like of which has not been seen before in Canada. Not even in this province with the highest percentage of organized workers, a lengthy history of militant struggles, and where the NDP has long been the largest party, out of office only why what is in effect a Liberal-Tory coalition.

The new budget is just as vicious a budget - only more so. It is going to cut even deeper and wider into education, housing, welfare, health care, legal services, all the social services that have long been taken as a right. It will increase taxes and will do nothing at all to alleviate, it will only increase the unemployment that rages like a plague through the province.

When Premier Bennett issued his 1983 declaration of war on the workers of BC, instead of applauding, the country's Big Business strategists expressed dismay.

As the teachers joined the picket line and the struggle moved to the brink of general strike Bay Street's **Financial Post** carried a lead editorial warning that the situation was getting out of hand, that "it could mean that about 200,000 public-sector workers would join the BCGEU on the picket lines. If this happens Premier William Bennett may well find the use of the law has its limits." **The Post** fears that his government's "welcome" initiative "is placed in jeopardy by a long period of unrest". It appeals to him and associates to consider "what Harvard economist Robert Reich calls the need for people to be involved in the process of change," taking special note that "the irony in all this is that the BC Government Employees Union has not challenged the fact that the government's restraint program will result in layoffs - it's the process not the central objective that's at issue."

In their next issue Vancouver columnist Jim Lyon chastises Bennett as having "seriously underestimated the opposition to his package of restraint legislation." According to Lyon "a number of well placed business leaders who sympathize with Bennett's restraint objectives but are sharply critical of what they view as inept implementation, now blame the premier for unleashing "a monster" within the province.

With the most astute business interests sharply opposing his government's confrontationist tactics, why did Bennett pursue them so inflexibly, conceding only that the BCGEU layoffs would be on the basis of seniority, a bargaining chip obviously designed to be graciously tossed aside, right up until the staged meeting on his Kelowna back porch. Why did he let the conflict appear to be headed inexorably for general strike, before making his unwritten agreement with BC Federation of Labour First vice-president Munro, who brought the stirring mass struggles up to a grinding halt?

And as it became increasingly more obvious, despite the BC Federation-Operation Solidarity leadership's best efforts to make it appear otherwise, that he had conceded nothing substantial to the massive outpouring of opposition, why does Bennett with this new budget even more doggedly pursue the same course of head-on confrontation which his Big Business would-be advisors see as being so counter to their interests.

It is apparent that Bennett is taking into account something that they are not - something that was critical in this past phase of the struggle and which he is now even more convinced can be counted on. Bennett has become confident that faced by his determination and audacity those who now head the BC labour movement are more frightened than he of the forces that his brutal tactics set in action. Bennett sees them as business unionists, well paid, getting older and more fixed in their ways, growing soft on the job of wheeling and dealing with the bosses and faced with a declining membership and shrinking financial resources.

His Big Business would-be advisors don't disagree. But they see his tactics are goading the ranks and secondary leadership into increasing conflict with this leadership, and that in the struggles he provokes he is laying the basis for the formation of a new, more innovative, more courageous, selfconfident militant leadership. The developing understanding of the need for unity as demonstrated by Operation Solidarity, and the involvement of the women and community movements that came together in the Solidarity Coalition, they see as very worrisome.

Bennett's confidence in those heading the struggle against his first budget unfortunately proved correct. Their sending Munro to Kelowna made sense since only weeks earlier he had succeeded in convincing the membership of his International Woodworkers to breach the general union pledge to reject no-wage-increase settlements, by accepting a no-wage-increase for the first year of a three year contract. This settlement put other pulp and paper workers unions in a difficult position which the bosses took advantage of by locking them out.

Munro as head of the biggest group of private sector workers gave Bennett confidence that there would be no solidarity action from that

→ to p.2

Jack Munroe and Art Kube, heads of B.C. Fed. and Operation Solidarity.

83-04-110

source. Already compromised in the eyes of militants Munro had less to lose than any other Solidarity leader, should an articulate opposition have arisen from a Kelowna deal. While Bennett wrested a pledge from Munro that no information as to what took place in Kelowna would be made known until he had agreement from his cabinet, without any information whatsoever, obviously on the basis of what the Solidarity leadership had secretly agreed to beforehand, the 85,000 striking public sector workers went back "in good faith."

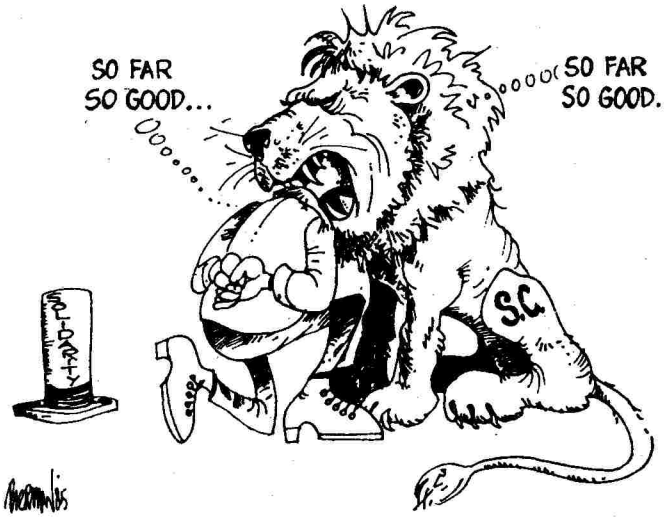
On the night following the Kelowna summit, there was one aspect of the agreement that became clear. At a gathering of 250 union leaders in Burnaby, Pulp and Paper President Jim Sloan observed that the Community Groups and their concerns (rent controls, social service cutbacks etc.) "have been let down." Solidarity executives Art Kube and Mike Kramer were jeered repeatedly that night by the 350 people who jammed the meeting of the Lower Mainland Solidarity Coalition membership meeting. "I don't think I sold out the coalition," Kube protested. His unexpected defence was that the Solidarity leadership could only negotiate on union issues and not social issues.

After the union meeting, without revealing anything of what transpired in Kelowna, Munro said "I think that Bennett will not renege on the deal we made. It's not total victory, but it's not over yet." Kube said he did not consider the agreement to be a major victory and expressed his hopes that the government is serious about consultations: "I hope the government will be forthcoming. I hope they're serious." Teachers' vice-president Pat Clarke expressed scepticism of the Nov. 13 deal saying "we are taking our friends in solidarity at their word."

Nonetheless a campaign got underway to present, not just the protest mobilizations and the demonstrations of solidarity, the formation of the Solidarity Coalition and the publication of **Solidarity Times**, which were stunning successes, and which will not be easily be forgotten, but the understanding at Kelowna as a grave setback for Bennett, and by the same token a victory or partial victory for labor. This line appeared in almost all the press of the left—ranging from the **BC Democrat**, to the Communist Party's **Canadian Tribune**, to the Revolutionary Workers League's **Socialist Voice**.

It was like the efforts of the Emperor's clothiers who sought to convince his courtiers that he was not only dressed but in the finest of rainment with no one under pressures of solidarity, venturing to reveal the truth. Until February 2 Solidarity head Art Kube himself, for no explained reason, revealed to a **Globe and Mail** reporter that "I think we were set up, (by Bennett) Kube said that the pact announced on the back porch of Premier Bennett's home in Kelowna had been cooked up two days earlier and that social issues had never been negotiated despite statements by leaders of Solidarity. 'Munro did not negotiate anything with the Premier. The whole thing was hyped up,' he said.'"

But now Bennett's Socreds have brought their budget back again--only this time it is more vicious than before and labor must mobilize its forces to defeat it. It is not going to be easy to turn-on the struggle again, to mobilize the community organizations and breath new life into the Solidarity Coalition, to rally new August 10ths and mobilize other October 15s. But it has to be done. This time the union rank and file have to come fully into the picture to commence the building of a new leadership on every level. A mass assembly of all labor has to be held that will work out a strategy and implement the tactics, that will work out the concrete demands and elect a leadership that in alliance with the NDP parliamentary caucus will negotiate from strength with the Socred government, or take decisive moves to replace it with an NDP government.



—from **Solidarity Times**, Nov. 23, 1983. —Bierman

03-04-11b

Jobs thru shorter work week

by P. Kent

There are an estimated 1,472,000 Canadians — 11.8% of the work force — unemployed. According to a Conference Board projection unemployment will remain at this scandalous level until at least 1990. Of those who are employed the number working only part time is skyrocketing. Part time workers make up 15.4% of the total work force. Young people from 15 to 25 years of age are estimated to constitute 17 to 19% of the unemployed. A recent study by the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto claims, contrary to StatsCanada's estimate of 533,000, that the real level of unemployment in this group is 47.8% higher — "a startling 26.5% of the unemployed". Singling out the youth in this army of unemployed a Canadian Mental Health Association report characterized them as "a sacrificial generation of disposable people."

Unemployment and its widening threat is the single most important issue confronting the working people of Canada — and yet federal and provincial government plans to ameliorate this criminal situation are in effect non-extistent, while layoffs and plant closures, even by the same corporations which have been bailed out with vast government handouts like Massey Fergusson which got 200 million dollars, continue to take place.

According to a report in the **Brantford Expositor,** at the moment that Massey-Fergusson's Chairman Victor Rise was praising "'the human factor' as having restored us to profitability", and on that same day as he emphasized that this was due to: "Not machine tools. Not computers. Not strategic plans. But People," 1,350 workers were laid off at Massey-Fergusson plants in Brantford and in Toronto.

It is this ever-more threatening situation that roused the delegates at last spring's Canadian Labour Congress convention to ditch the leadership's no-action-program for economic recovery and endorse a program that emphasized the need to establish by union contract a 32 hour week with no loss in take-home pay. The mood of the delegates was buoyed up by the stirring strikes of key sectors of the West German working class, particularly the steelworkers joined by the printers who broke through the barriers of elaborate class collaborationist legislation imposed following World War II in a massive strike struggle for a 35 hour work week. They finally settled for 38½ hours with full take-home-pay, to take effect in April 1985. Their aim in cutting back the work week was to bring half of the 2.4 million unemployed back into the shops.

At the same time a task force established by the Ontario NDP to deal primarily with the impact of technological change on the work force — computers and robots — handed down its report. Co-chaired by the now MP Michael Cassidy and Ontario MPP James Foulds it stressed the need to cut the legislated work-week in the province of Ontario down to 32 hours with all workers having the right to participate in decisions about technological change.

According to Cassidy the corporations should be able to pay the same wages and salaries they now pay, for fewer hours of work as the new technology results in productivity gains. The report estimated that 782,000 new jobs would be created in the province — enough to completely eliminate unemployment if the shorter work week were gradually introduced. The task force recommended that basic vacations be raised immediately from two weeks to three weeks and to four by 1989. And it urged that paid overtime should be limited to a maximum of four hours.

The trade union brass have long given only lip service to the demand for a shorter work week with the same take-home pay, as they have to the concept of trade union organization of the unemployed. Laid off workers retaining full voice and vote in their locals would serve as a powerful force to keep the question of the shorter work week in the union's bargaining and contract settlement, up front where it belongs.

Larger union locals, some of which draw their members from a concentrated community, could be instrumental in helping to build an independent and all-inclusive powerful union of unemployed workers, encompassing the increasing number of the youth, both male and → left col.

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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For a shorter work week with same take home pay

Continued from page 1

female, who have never had a job, providing them with the facilities to set up a drop-in center to hold meetings, rallies, educational projects, social affairs, along with the means to publish leaflets, etc., that would involve them in the real politics of the community. Through their stimulating effect the community could be transformed from a place of despair into an optimistic and vital labor bulwark.

The Unemployed Help Centers operated by labour councils, far from sustaining militancy among laid off members, turn them into beggars, with the labour-appointed staff trying to "keep UIC officials honest" while being completely dependent on funds allocated by the provincial and federal governmens. Many of these centers have exhausted their funds and have disappeared under the mounting wave of unemployment. Three clinics in Toronto closed last Spring when government grants were not renewed. Brantford center finances ran out December 31; however, it has been graciously supplied with a charitable number permitting it to make public appeals for money.

Employees at the shipbuiding and machinery operations of Marine Industries in Sorel (near Montreal) are now heading into their 13th week strike for a reduction of the work week from 40 to 35 hours. The Confederation of National Trade Unions' leadership has appealed to the Quebec government to see that serious negotiations get underway. The Montreal and Trois Rivieres trade union movement, in particular their thousands of unemployed, should make the Sorel picket line the scene of massive mobilizations in a serious struggle for the shorter work week. In fact the unemployed should buttress the ranks of all strikes for the shorter work week such as it appears the Canadian Union of Postal Workers are headed towards.

TYPESET BY UNION LABOR

forward

EDITOR: Ross Dowson (51) Nov.-Dec. 1984 — Page 1

US hands off Nicaragua!

by the Editors

No one can any longer plead ignorance of the fact that the heads of the U.S., the most powerful nation on the globe, are waging a truly massive campaign, both overt and covert to strangle the tiny workers republic of Nicaragua.

After Reagan's secretly engineered assault on Grenada, who can have any illusions that the master strategists in Washington are not far down the road that could bring their extended war of attrition against Managua to climax in a monstrous destructive and bloody coordinated air, land and sea assault?

The preparations are right out in the open and they are total. They range from cynical employment of disinformation that there were super-sonic fighter planes on board a Soviet freighter that docked at the Nicaraguan port of Corinto — now conceded to be completely untrue. To the most brazen of lies that such eminent U.S. government figures as Defence Secretary Weinberger, no less, are lending themselves to — that it is impoverished and imperilled Nicaragua that has nefarious designs on neighbouring Honduras, when the simple truth is that it is Honduras that has been occupied by the U.S. military and transformed into a launching pad against Nicaragua. And psychological warfare of U.S. spy plane overflights violating Nicaraguan air space setting off sonic booms day after day to unnerve the Nicaraguan population as well as amass information for the contras.

The now routinized war of attrition — the three year U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary war—openly aimed at undermining the country's development, has caused 7,000 deaths in Sandinista and civilian ranks since March 1982, 400 million U.S. dollars worth of damage, a drastic drop in exports and a drain off of scarce resources for defence.

The working people of Nicaragua need every bit of help that they can get from Canadians. The Tools for Nicaragua campaign is an exemplary one. They need to hear expressions of solidarity from every assembly, no matter how small. And the cry **Hands Off Nicaragua** must be heard everywhere.

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11-12-2a

Elections as part of the revolution

11-12-26

The U.S. State Department's efforts to discredit the Nicaraguan elections were concentrated around the maneuvers of declared presidential candidate Arturo Cruz who had served for a period as ambassador to Washington. He was nominated by the Democratic Coordinating Committee (Coordinadora) dominated by the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), the main organization of the Nicaraguan capitalist class.

In July Cruz raised the absurd condition that the Sandinistas legitimatize the two main terrorist groups (contras) that had been ravaging the countryside. When this condition was brushed aside the Coordinadora refused to register its candidates who on August 20 were ruled as having lost their status. Following that the FSLN made several proposals, even the postponment of the elections entirely if the contras laid down their arms by October 25. Cruz and the other Coordinadora still refused to register, all talks ended, and the preparations for the Nov. 4 election continued.

A few capitalist parties, besides several small groups that call themselves Marxist ran against the FSLN which ran Ortega and Ramirez for president and vice-president and put up 180 candidates for the full and alternate seats to the National Assembly.

The FSLN candidates stressed that they were not just seeking votes but are urging the population to continue the struggle for social and economic change which commenced with the popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza tyranny in July 1979 and established a workers and farmers government.

The FSLN "Plan of Struggle" declared "In the first free elections in Nicaragua's history, which only the Sandinista revolution has made possible (the) people will reiterate on Nov. 4, 1984, the vote for the revolution that it casts every day in the factories, trade unions, cooperatives, neighborhoods, shops, classrooms in the building of the new Nicaragua."

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BARRICADA

INTERNACIONAL

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Vice-president Sergio Ramirez and President Daniel Ortega with supporters.

Barricada

Commander Leticia Herrera was one of the 34 women candidates chosen by the FSLN among its 180 choices for the National Assembly. During the insurrection's final stage women accounted for nearly a third of the Sandinista combatants providing the backdrop for their strong presence today throughout the country.

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Canadian Autoworkers buck US leadership pattern

11-12-3

by Jean Laplante

When the leadership of the United Autoworkers Union, following a seven-day strike of tens of thousands of their members in major General Motors shops across the U.S., settled with that corporation's negotiators, they put tremendous pressures on the Canadian UAW members to follow suit. It was a poor settlement. Only 57% of the U.S. members who voted cast their ballots in favor of it. The traditional annual wage increase was given away for a gamble, by the workers' families with the corporate directors — a one shot lump sum payment which would not be built into the wage structures, and a share of the profits that might or might not accrue to the corporation.

The U.S. settlement has long been looked upon as setting a pattern for the Canadian members. But the Canadian leadership has vigorously opposed the concessions policies of the U.S. leadership and decided to break out of that pattern. After failing in attempts to negotiate what became known as a "made in Canada" contract, for the first time in 14 years the membership went on strike. In the course of their 13 day strike, the 36,500 Canadian GM workers closed down, not only GM's Canadian operations, but GM operations in the U.S. dependent on them

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Canadian Autoworkers buck

Continued from page 1

for supplies, employing an estimated 41,000 workers. The daily press in Canada carried articles and letters to the editor from U.S. autoworkers expressing solidarity with the Canadian autoworkers.

Many Canadian workers have their own ideas of what they want in the Canadian contract. Up front would be shorter working time through the restoration of the 9 personal paid holidays given up in the 1982 contract, restoration of the 3 percent annual improvement factor, an improved cost of living (COLA) clause, less wage differentials between the unskilled and the skilled workers, affirmative action, etc. But above all they want an annual wage increase that would be built into the wage structure, and nothing at all to do with the gamble of one time lump sums and profit sharing.

GM's Canadian negotiators pressed for the adoption of the U.S. contract. They had the full support of the Ontario government whose spokesmen played on fears that GM would scale-back its Canadian operations, and of course the U.S.-based leadership of the Autoworkers who saw their authority being challenged and their deal with GM compromised.

Widespread rumours of the hostility of the UAW Bieber leadership to the Canadian strike were authenticated in a statement to the press by Canadian Labour Congress President Dennis McDermott, himself a former leader of the Autoworkers, who defended the idea of a separate Canadian settlement by challenging whether General Motors recognized Canada as a sovereign country. To rumours that the U.S. officers were threatening to withhold aid to Canadian members from the union's strike fund, Canadian director Robert White made it publicly known that he had 10 million dollars of CLC funds available to back up the Canadian strike.

A discussion of the Canadian membership's relations with the U.S.-based leadership is certain to come up before the Canadian UAW Council meeting in December. Key components of the Canadian UAW, the St. Catharines GM local's leadership and the Windsor Chrysler leadership, while favoring closer fraternal solidarity with U.S. autoworkers, have been strong advocates of Canadian autonomy, if not inside then outside of the Autoworkers.

The contract offer that was presented to GM's Oshawa workers in three separate mass meetings, it is estimated will put the Canadian autoworkers $1.14 an hour ahead of the U.S. by 1987. The union won base rate increases along with a Special Canadian Adjustment factor and improvements in COLA fold-in and the COLA factor by December 1986. It failed to restore the 3% annual improvement factor and to restore the 9 personal paid holidays.

White summed up the situation with the comment: "We have firmly established a new trend for Canadian autoworkers. The days of rubberstamping an American agreement are gone." And with that, 87% of the production workers and 83% of the skilled trades voted to end the strike.

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11-12-4a

Security Service clamped on, despite an all-out NDP fight

By Ross Dowson

The long and hotly contested bill establishing the Canadian Security Intelligence Service — a secret political police force subject only to the control of a government-appointed body of privy councillors and an inspector general — was ironically rammed through the final sessions of the last parliament to get it out of the way of the election of a new government. The Service's first director, Tedd Finn, has since been sworn into office and in short order more than 90% of the discredited RCMP security specialists took up their posts in the "new" agency.

In the final moments before the bill passed into law NDP MP Svend Robinson (Burnaby) scored the government for imposing legislation on the country which "in the name of protecting our national security... could ultimately destroy our fundamental civil liberties and privacy." He compared that day to the fateful 16th day of October, 1970 when a Liberal government (with John Turner its minister of justice) suspended the civil rights of every Canadian by enforcing the totalitarian powers of the War Measures Act under the guise of coping with an "apprehended insurrection."

This was allegedly threatened by an organization subsequently exposed by the Keable Inquiry to be so riddled with police spies and agent provocateurs as to have been largely a creation of the police themselves. The Act, brought into force by a handful of faceless state officials, imposed conditions of a police state. Quebec was occupied by a federal army of 7,500. Police raids resulted in the arrest of over 400 people, all of whom were held incommunicado and without charge for days.

Robinson also likened it to the day in the height of the Second Imperialist World War fever when Liberal Prime Minister McKenzie King gave the word to authorities on the West Coast to seize every Canadian differing from others only by the fact of their Japanese origin or descent, to impound and sell off all their worldly goods and to impose conditions of prison labour on them in primitive camps in isolated communities scattered across the country, for the duration.

Robinson's speech summed up what has been, in the face of tremendous difficulties, a seven-year-long historic struggle. It commenced with the revelation of an ever-growing number of RCMP illegalities, of such a scope and character as to unmistakeably define the essential function of the force — directed, with the connivance of all levels of the capitalist state, against dissidents, encompassing the trade unions, the NDP, the Native Movement, Quebec independentists, Gays, Marxists, etc., etc.

This latest phase of the struggle flowed out of the cynical decision of the Liberal government, to cast aside all further efforts at cover-up, and to henceforth make the essential RCMP illegalities completely legitimate by imbedding them in the official mandate of the new Canadian Security Intelligence Service. Early in this stage NDP MP Svend Robinson committed the parliamentary caucus to irreconcilable opposition.

In their efforts the NDP parliamentary caucus broke from their customary stance as an exemplary "loyal opposition", to mobilize their forces to block their infamous Bill C-157 which the Liberals decided to jam through the house and clear the way for elections.

When the government diverted the bill into a parliamentary committee Robinson, as NDP solicitor-general critic, initiated a militant one-man filibuster. This action was supplemented by NDP MP Dan Heap's "offence" of challenging the integrity of a government minister. With Heap barred from the house → to p. 2

NDP M.P. Svend Robinson

a dark day for democracy!

The following are NDP MP Svend Robinson's summary words as the hectic years-long struggle waged by the NDP parliamentary caucus was forced to a close by the passage of the Security Intelligence Service Bill C-9 on June 21. This was one of the final acts by the Trudeau government, with the aid of the Progressive Conservatives, to clear itself of the stench that had been plaguing Ottawa ever since the revelations of the RCMP's horrendous violations of civil rights began to leak out seven years ago.

Svend Robinson, NDP Burnaby — "Members of this house, Mr. Speaker, look back, as Canadians, look back at some of the blots on our history. We look back to October 16, 1970, the day that the War Measures Act was proclaimed. That was a sorry day in the history of this country. The War Measures Act was approved overwhelmingly by Liberal members and Conservative members of Parliament. Only the NDP members stood and said, No!

"We look back and recall with shame the actions of this government, of Liberal governments, in interning Canadians of Japanese origin, confiscating their property and putting them in concentration camps. Historically we look back and say that was wrong. I suggest that our children will look back on this day and say that indeed this was a dark day for democracy in this country; a dark day for freedom.

They will ask: Where were the Liberal members of parliament as their fundamental rights and freedoms were being eroded? In the name of protecting our national security, the government brings forward legislation which could ultimately destroy our fundamental civil liberties and privacy. Bill C-9 is an affront to democracy."

11-12-46

the NDP hoped to flush out the Tories from hand-wringing worrying into absenting themselves from the vote, thereby further stalling passage of the bill. Failing this, to further delay the vote NDP house leader Ian Deans blocked a government attempt to have all changes treated en bloc, with Broadbent defending the filibuster as being necessary to preserve some sanity in the country. Attempting to establish control of the bill by the elected members of the house, Robinson then presented 175 amendments to it. This extended the June 20 session from that morning on until 5:05 a.m. June 21.

Thus, the bill which had met such universal opposition in its first draft form as Bill C-157 that the government diverted it into a Senate committee which was compelled to concede changes in almost every section in order to push it along in the form of Bill C-9, and which has now been hammered through the justice committee and the house of commons itself, came to pass into law.

The commons justice committee, whose sessions were restricted to Ottawa over Robinson's protests, heard more than 25 witnesses and reviewed more than 50 written submissions. While some still sought to merely amend the bill as did C-157 protests, this time several struck at C-9's fundamental nature and challenged its purpose.

The submission from the widely-based Ottawa-Hull Coalition Against the Security Bill, reproduced on this sheet, is particularly noteworthy in this respect. However as the **Law Union News** reported in its August issue, while the BC Union opposed the notion that the Security Service Agency is even needed, one of the two spokespersons from the Ontario Union, the well-known Toronto human rights lawyer Paul Copeland, while protesting the failure of the bill to specifically prohibit countering activities "confessed his support for 'a legislative mandate for a security service'."

A Canadian Civil Liberties Association-led coalition headed by its General Counsel Alan Borovoy, included Dennis McDermott, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, an official representative of the Anglican Primate and of the United Church. Along with its protest that the powers of intrusive surveillance are "needlessly wide" it called for the split of the security intelligence functions in two, with the security intelligence service restricted to foreign-controlled security threats and the RCMP continuing to deal with the domestic arena — primarily law enforcement — requiring no powers not already provided for in

Continued overleaf

MPs smeared as "terrorists"

NDP MP Svend Robinson — "I was informed as I entered the chamber today that the solicitor-general had described those of us who have done everything in our power within the rules of this parliament to oppose this legislation which constitutes such an assault on civil liberties, as 'parliamentary terrorists'.

"In describing members of parliament as terrorists and as having resorted to parliamentary terrorism, the solicitor-general is suggesting that the objectives of the bill which we are now debating, which the solicitor-general has suggested would include combating terrorism, in his words may be turned against members of this house who choose to exercise their democratic right to dissent.

"By describing opponents of this bill as terrorists the solicitor-general is suggesting that one of the primary reasons why we in this party and Canadians in general are so concerned that this bill becomes law, Canadians who have broken no law whatsoever but who engage in dissent or opposition to the government of the day may be targeted by the new security service..."

NDP MP Ian Deans — "I simply want to say to him that if we could find a way to do today, tomorrow, next week and next year what we did last night, and stop this bill from passing, we would use it. The bill is so bad, so offensive, and so disgusting in nature that it ought not to pass."

NDP fight

from overleaf

the Criminal Code. With its scope limited to gathering evidence of crime and also limited to the period before trial, the Coalition considered it would be much less threatening to civil liberties.

The Canadian Council of Churches brief warned that the intrusive surveillance allowed under the CSIS mandate would have a chilling effect on voluntary participation in peace and disarmament organizations and international solidarity movements because they could be viewed as threats to "the interests of Canada."

The RCMP Security Service is no more. The Royal Commission appointed by the federal government under Judge McDonald, in its findings released in the fall of 1981, could do no less than indict it for: "an anti-left bias in the judgement of its members, and a tendency towards the worst kind of 'guilt by association'" in regards to the files it had amassed and still retains on 800,000 individuals; proving indifferent or unable to distinguish between what might possibly be considered subversive and what is completely legitimate dissent in designating the targets of its operations; "improper conduct (which) we consider form enough of a pattern to be considered institutionalized", and for willingness to deceive those outside the force who have some kind of constitutional authority or jurisdiction over it, etc.

Now the RCMP Security Service core personnel appear in its new incarnation, the Security Intelligence Service, far out of range of popular control, and with a mandate that legitimatizes RCMP illegalities. But the struggle has not been in vain. Its lessons have by no means been lost on a wide section of the population and in particular the working class and their organizations. New methods of struggle have been devised and old methods such as the NDP filibuster have been revived. And we have been warned.

Principled stand

If you are a civil servant and inclined to participate in the peace movement, a trade union or an anti-apartheid group, you had better be prepared to turn over to the RCMP the names and addresses of your associates. Yes, become an RCMP informer — a spy!

Jack Gold of Ottawa wasn't prepared to do so and so was labelled a security risk by the RCMP and relieved of his duties in Revenue Canada. The 27 year veteran of the department and his family have other problems — they are supporters of the NDP — his wife is on that party's national executive. He is suing Revenue Canada, the Department of Energy, and the RCMP, with the full support of the Public Service Alliance of Canada.

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11-12-5a

NDP leadership for revision of policy

by Paul Kane

NDP policy is once again coming under attack — not this time from Liberal leader Turner's attempt to deny the NDP the position of the real opposition, or from Prime Minister Mulroney and his aides. Mulroney is trying to soften up the party, to butter it up with sweet talk of "consensus" and "national conciliation".

No sooner was the election out of the way when Ian Deans, NDP MP Hamilton-Mountain, with his authority as house leader in the Commons, flung a few more darts at now familiar targets — the party's advocacy of Canada's withdrawal from the NATO nuclear-armed US-dominated military alliance, and the party's policy of public ownership of key sectors of the economy.

Deans did so in conjunction with a statement approving the appointment of former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis by Mulroney, as his government's ambassador to the United Nations. Saying that he has "some serious questions about withdrawing from NATO", he protested that his "problem with nationalization has always been that every time some one does something wrong in our judgement, we threaten to nationalize them and we seem to use it as a punishment." The truth is - the word is seldom uttered.

Then, while announcing his resignation as the NDP's national secretary, Gerry Caplan, in a series of wide-ranging glancing comments with a **Globe and Mail** reporter, made an even more sweeping attack on the party's program. In the process of questioning the party's position on NATO and on public ownership he also questioned the party's identification with the organized labour movement. Pointing up the fact that the party has never won more than 20% of the vote, "it's time," he said, "to ask what went wrong." While he admitted "I don't know the answers," it would appear after the smoke cleared away from his shotgun blast that Caplan considers there is too much concern about adhering to party principles. The problem, he said, lies in deciding what is a principle and what is a tactic.

These attacks on the party's fundamental character as an anti-war party, and as a labour party committed to establishing a socialist democracy through public ownership and public control of the key sectors of the economy follows immediately on the heels of the federal election campaign during which the leadership continued to shift the party further to the right. It was just this rightward course, "the stressing of populist issues," according to Caplan, which resulted in what he calls "a comeback" for the NDP in this election.

One of the most popularized myths of Canadian politics, drawn on by both the right and the ultra left, is that the NDP has no stable constituency, no real class base in the population. What is readily recognized as a fact in Europe, that there is a working class consciousness, is not conceded to exist on the North American continent. And so, contrary to the facts, it is alleged that the NDP vote ebbs and flows due to

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Pauline Jewett, NDP M.P.

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an infinite variety of reasons setting off a constant searching for the elusive formula for success.

But the facts are that the NDP polls a hard and stable substantially working class vote which stood at 17.9% in 1965 and over the following seven federal elections never dropped lower than 15.4% in 1974 and reached its highest of 19.8% in 1980.

What really requires explanation about the NDP poll this election is the fact that it actually fell to 19.0%, that the party made no headway but dropped thousands of votes across the country while hundreds of thousands deserted the Liberal party whose supporters have all along been considered the most susceptible of being won to the NDP.

This election, unlike any of the previous six, saw a colossal and unprecedented shift in political alignments right across the country. There is now one party and it is not the Liberal party but its "bobbsey

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NDP leadership for revision of policy

twin", the capitalist Progressive Conservative party that has a truly national base, with the largest share of the vote in every province and in particular in the longstanding Liberal stronghold of Quebec where it quadrupled its previous showing. The Liberals suffered a debacle, not only in industrialized Quebec where their vote dropped from 67% in 1980 to 35%, but elsewhere across the country. They dropped 11 of the 17 seats they had held in Toronto, "everything but the ethnic vote" according to party president Graham.

NDP strategists have been addressing themselves to just such a possible realignment of political forces for decades. But when it appeared on the horizon they proved unable to respond with a policy which would even challenge, let alone convince, defecting Liberals that the NDP, not the capitalist Progressive Conservative party is "the party of change." The NDP leadership continued to follow the same liberal-reformist course that they have been travelling for years. Major sign posts on that course are the decades long struggle to get rid of the Regina Manifesto, and later, with the coalescence of forces resulting in the formation of the NDP, in the defeat at the founding convention of the proposal that the party adopt a statement of principles.

It has been said that Broadbent in his appearance on the national TV debates set the election agenda. To be sure the inevitable issue of jobs was up front, but Broadbent did not draw the lines. The party's posture was not that of a critical and challenging alternative. It was cool and laid back — appropriate to a "loyal" opposition. Even where the party's policy inescapably posed a fundamental choice it was muffled, often by statements that removed the issue from any immediacy whatsoever, by posing it as some distant ultimate objective. From opposition to the U.S. Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, where it alone stood, Broadbent fell back to the nuclear weapons freeze position, cynically picked up by such Liberals as party president Campagnolo all the more that it is irrelevant in non-nuclear Canada.

The party's action program on unemployment differed in no way from either the Liberals or Tories. The president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Sam Hughes, no less, damned it with fulsome praise. He told **Financial Post** that he "liked the entrepreneurial aspect of Broadbent's plan to provide up to $10,000 to young people to start a new business." NDP MP Derek Blackburn, from the platform of an all-candidates meeting in the unemployment ravaged city of Brantford, expressed his difficulty in supporting this "free enterprise" policy as the monopolization of the Canadian economy takes new leaps. "I have doubts about the party policy on this," he said with embarassment.

On a CBC national phone-in program, party secretary Caplan was querried about Broadbent's failure to affirm the party's commitment to legal legislation of a shorter work week with the same take-home-pay. Caplan affirmed that Broadbent did indeed say that the shorter workweek was an issue to be resolved between employers and the trade unions — adding with enthusiasm that this type of response is the secret to the party's doing so well in this campaign.

Having taken the NDP into the center of the political spectrum the Broadbent leadership now finds it crowded. After a short venture to the right, Turner changed direction in midstream back into the center where his Liberal cohorts are now trying to pull their shattered machine together again and firm it up as the official opposition. With only a mandate for "change" the Progressive Conservative machine is being pulled to the right by the demands of administering the destabilized capitalist economy and state apparatus that it has inherited from the Liberals, and by the heightened pressures, as a dependency of the U.S. imperialist colossus, from the triumphant Reagan administration. Mulroney's demagogy about consensus and national conciliation is a device also to play the center, above all in order to consolidate the new conglomeration of PC supporters, particularly in Quebec, so that they will not be swept away again, as they were under the short-lived Tory Clark administration.

But how can the NDP prove to the working people of Canada that it is the "real" opposition to the Mulroney government if it continues to project the liberal-reformist views that it has over the past decades? The only way is to reverse course, to go left.

Not dump the party's commitment to a new social order based on public ownership of the key sectors of the economy — at the very time that the social legislation which the NDP played a critical role in winning is facing assault and when hundreds of thousands are being deprived of even the right to work! Not when wide sectors of the population are going to become increasingly receptive to the idea that we need to construct a new social order!

Not scuttle the party's opposition to Canada's membership in the U.S. dominated NATO-NORAD military alliances at this critical juncture when the Reagan administration is demonstrating clearer than ever before that it is prepared to entrap its allies in military adventures in Central America with the gravest danger to the entire world!

Only a few years ago, when Broadbent made known his desire to reverse the party's opposition to NATO, the party ranks moved out to vigorously re-affirm their opposition in convention in Vancouver. Broadbent indecorously pulled back to remove the issue from serious debate. But now the fight is on. The future of the NDP is at stake. The forces of the left can and must win.

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Confronts leadership challenge

ONDP Left Caucus

11-12-6a

by Ross Dowson

There is no question that the highlight of this year's activity of the Ontario NDP Left Caucus was its emergence as a major factor at the Ontario provincial convention held in the Hamilton municipal centre over the June-July weekend. The low level of political involvement of the party membership, other than waging their riding's federal election campaigns, has made it difficult for the Left Caucus to maintain the necessary level of activity upon which it could hope to effectively build its forces. Besides, the Caucus' as yet all-too-narrow activist base is highly involved in the various sectors of ongoing struggles, this year in particular the anti-war movement's Peace Petition Caravan Campaign and the women's movement's fight for free-standing abortion clinics and Dr. Morgentaler's defence.

The panel discussion that the Left Caucus sponsored on the highly publicized Laxer Report during the noon hour of the March 24 provincial council meeting was very successful. It featured Mel Watkins, David Robertson and Simon Rosenblum. The forum on Strategies for the Peace Movement at Bloor Collegiate April 17, although it featured David Kraft of Toronto Disarmament Network; Kimberley Wilde of Metro-NDP Anit-war Committee, and Anne Swarbrick of Metro Toronto Labour Council, while stimulating, was only a modest success attendance-wise.

But the Left Caucus delegates' effective intervention in the policy discussions on the floor of the Hamilton convention, its drafting and circulation of a manifesto **For a revitalized, socialist NDP**, its five caucus meetings which reached an attendance as high as 80 alternates and delegates, and finally its presentation of a slate of three men and three women for provincial executive membership-at-large were major achievements. The Left Caucus now faces the possibility of expanding the organized left and making a real poli-

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tical impact on the party and on socialists and activists throughout Ontario.

The Left Caucus Steering Committee, for the first time an elected one, although unfortunately in a contest that was highly factionalized, presented a draft of the Manifesto and opened a discussion on resolutions appearing in the resolutions books at two pre-convention Toronto region caucus meetings. The Caucus did not present or promote resolutions favorable to its views at the earlier stage of resolution discussions in the ridings. Unlike the more elaborate manifesto that the Ontario Left Caucus drew up for presentation to the 1983 federal convention, this manifesto had the declared support of everyone participating in the meetings, along with the support of the Ottawa region meeting. It hammered home previously agreed upon Left Caucus positions, the need for a shorter work week with the same take-home pay, an industrial stra-

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Celebrating re-election of Derek Blackburn at Brantford UAW Local 458 hall. At an earlier all-candidates' meeting, Blackburn dissociated himself from the party leadership's "free enterprise" solution to unemployment.

Ont Left Caucus faces new challenges

tegy emphasizing social ownership of the economy, freedom of choice and right of access to abortion clinics, Ontario as a nuclear-weapons-free-zone and Canada to break from NATO and NORAD, accountability of the party parliamentary caucus and leadership to the party, and defence of its program with real political discussions at all levels of the party.

The five caucus meetings held during the convention discussed many questions such as the public funding of separate schools that Premier Davis announced only days before as a new Ontario Progressive Conservative government policy, along with the tactics of intervention necessary to develop in the process of the unfolding of the debates, particularly in relation to the initiatives from other bodies such as the Women's Committee. The problem of the Caucus intervening effectively in the election of officers and building its credibility as a serious operation was complicated by the presentation to the convention of two different slates of persons prominently identified with the Left Caucus, before the Caucus itself took up the matter. The Caucus was also approached by other supporters for endorsements for executive positions.

11-12-6 b

The steering committee recommended that to receive Left Caucus endorsement for a table position the candidate must receive 50% plus one of the vote. This recommendation was accepted primarily on the argument that the caucus as a whole should make the decision to contest, and not an individual. The Caucus did not endorse a candidate for president who sought its support, on a vote of 19 to 24. Simon Rosenblum as vice-president and Abby Pollonetsky as Participation of Women representative were endorsed 33-10 and 36-7 respectively. Both appeared on the official slate and were elected; however Pollonetsky, on a point of privilege before the convention, dissociated herself from the official slate. New rules governing elections of members-at-large allowed for only three males and three females. The Caucus endorsed Angie Codina, Laura Pascoe and Mary Rowles for the female members-at-large posts and Gordon Doctorow, Fred Gloger and Kirk Roberts for the male members-at-large. The Left Caucus slate polled three to four times the vote that other supporters not on the slate polled.

To develop the new possibilities that the convention showed are open to it, the Left Caucus must make more effective use of even its present supporters. A serious effort should be made to overcome a certain factionalism that taints the atmosphere making our work less satisfying from a personal point of view and less rewarding from the point of view of our socialist purpose. This can best be achieved by opening up the steering committee to persons of differing views as to its work and by establishing a modest but effective administration which its supporters can participate in and which will allow the caucus to take some useful initiatives.

Instead of moving along on the fringes or dragging along behind others, the caucus must set its own agenda and commit some real and substantial efforts to make its projects work. We must again take up the project of organizing a series of forums in Toronto in suitable facilities and on a regular basis in the immediate period ahead and encourage the participation of the party membership in the ongoing popular struggles. With the majority of the ridings' continuing deterioration into mere membership renewal and money raising machines, the Left Caucus can provide an attractive educational centre for activists presently without a focus in the various ridings and union locals to which they belong. The Caucus could thereby help qualitatively lift the political level of the party for the struggles ahead.

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RCMP continues to block Dowson

11-12-7

FLASH!

The Ontario Court of Appeal, on November 5, turned down an RCMP appeal of a previous lower court decision ordering a senior officer to testify at a hearing of a former assistant commissioner. As we go to press it is not known whether the RCMP will attempt to appeal the Ontario Appeal Court ruling to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Last December the Supreme Court of Ontario also dismissed the federal justice department's attempt to block Dowson from proceeding with an injurious falsehood claim against the two top RCMP officers in a Toronto Small Claims Court. This suit has yet to reappear on the order paper because it is subject to another separate appeal in the same court.

By Paul Kane

The RCMP has again blocked Ross Dowson's five and a half year long attempt to seek justice for victims of the federal police forces' massive campaign of harassment of the labour and socialist movements in the early 1970's.

The latest move by RCMP lawyers to appeal a Supreme Court order dismissing their attempt to block Justice of the Peace James Allen's hearing to determine if the RCMP should be charged, could further delay the decision by a year, or even longer. The Supreme Court of Ontario order was made August 14, almost a year after the Supreme Court of Canada unanimously ordered the Justice of the Peace to proceed to determine if charges should be laid after a four-year long delay, then caused by the Ontario Attorney's-general department.

At the August 14 hearing Supreme Court Judge Barr rejected RCMP argument that the Justice of the Peace could not hear the evidence of RCMP Superintendent Yaworski subpoenaed to testify before him, because of his right against self-incrimination. In a subsequent written decision, Barr commented "I cannot accept the suggestion that there are different rights for informants acting with the blessing of the Crown than for other informants."

The charges arise out of the RCMP's infamous Operation Checkmate. The RCMP confessed to forging and circulating slanderous letters in the now defunct League for Socialist Action (LSO) of which Dowson was the most prominent spokesperson. The RCMP's moves constitute an attempt to squelch the strongest and one of the last remaining attempts to seek redress against the federal police for their self-confessed crimes against proponents of social change.

Back in November of 1982 the then Solicitor-General MacGuigan revealed that no RCMP officer has been or ever will be charged as far as federal authorities and every provincial attorney's general office across Canada is concerned — other than Quebec's. Even there, where the PQ government charged 17 Mounties, only one has been found guilty for his participation in the break-in and theft of membership lists and confidential records of the Parti-Quebecois. He was handed a token 6 month probation and a 6 month suspended sentence. The two RCMPers charged with kidnapping, although they pled guilty, were given an unconditional and an absolute discharge. Last November a stay of proceedings was also ordered for 7 other former and current RCMPers. Two others are still waiting their jury trial for the PQ theft. This July the Quebec Court of Appeal upheld a ruling that had ordered a permanent stay of proceedings against RCMP Inspector Vermette.

All of which points up the critical importance of the Dowson suit.

RCMP ON TRIAL

The five part docu-drama shown last fall on City TV. Written by Roberts and Sobelman, direct by David Sobelman now available on videotape on loan from Socialist Rights Defence Fund, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5 $25 deposit refundable with thanks to Citytv

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Mulroney entraps Lewis as Tory govt's UN ambassador

by P. Kent

The startling appointment of Stephen Lewis, the former leader of the anti-nuclear Ontario New Democratic Party, as the ambassador of the pro-nuclear Progressive Conservative Party government to the United Nations; along with the appointment of Douglas Roche, pacifist and former PC M.P. who declined to seek a seat in the recent elections, as the ambassador and advisor on disarmament to the more-arms-expenditures Progressive Conservative government, has been a source of much speculation.

Most persons, particularly those who are prominent in NDP leadership circles, express incredulity over Mulroney's making such an appointment. However, no one has been recorded as expressing surprise that Lewis, long admired as an expert "Tory basher" failed to turn it down, out of concern that acceptance would compromise him. But then, if that possibility had existed, the offer would never have been made.

On the contrary, the incredulity is muffled by scarcely concealed expressions of satisfaction and even pleasure — for, after all these years, the NDP, and the CCF before it, has never really been accepted as a part of the legitimate processes of Canadian society. Now, by this simple act, by the Prime Minister no less, the party appears to have at long last been brought in out of the cold. Hopes mount that "progressive" ideas may now get a hearing in high places where real power lies, not just among the working class with its potential power — through Lewis and possibly others for whom doors may be opening.

Among the few comments that Lewis has himself made since his appointment is one to the **Toronto Star**. It is typical of his stylish, open-ended vagaries and circumlocutions which, when delivered in his dramatic cadences, seem transformed from the obfuscations that they truly are into ringing challenges and commitments.

In explaining his acceptance of the ambassadorship, he would not assume, or invite a collision course with differences on ideology and politics, because he is reported as saying, a number of instances (which he does not specify) Canada has taken in recent years at the UN (unspecified) "are positions I can live within." Variances between Conservative policies and his policies, he said, "do not strike at the heart of ideology." But then he backs off those positions that it has to be conceded do just that — commitments to NATO and the testing of the cruise missile — to find refuge in the claim that they are not issues debated and which he would have to take a stand on at the UN.

Recognizing that on the very eve of his appointment he wrote a column in **Macleans** magazine in which he agreed that Mulroney "acted with indecent haste, grovelling reverentially to the White House" and conceding that he could someday soon be instructed to support US aggression against Nicaragua, he protested "but I have been assured — and it has been confirmed this week in Ottawa — that I will be part of the decision-making process on foreign policy." No doubt they will be decisions democratically arrived at in due consideration of his personal opinion, which by their grace is permitted expression, and weighed along with the class interests and commitments of the political machine that controls Canada's capitalist state apparatus.

Bereft of other rational argument Lewis finally evoked the ghost of his deceased father, David Lewis, who as former leader of the party, communicated with him. "You'd be crazy if you didn't take it, son. There is a real contribution to be made there. Don't be precious. Don't be an ideological dogmatist. Make a contribution."

"It may sound silly for a man of my age to wonder what his dad would think but that's what made up my mind . . ."

In only a matter of weeks after the appointments Mulroney was able to demonstrate their value to his government in coming to grips with the most challenging and dynamic opposition to its commitments on the international arena and in particular to the U.S. State Department — the anti-nuclear arms movement. On accepting the half million signed petitions urging his government to halt cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, to declare Canada a nuclear-free zone, and to re-direct current military expenditures to human needs, Mulroney politely affirmed that there had been no change whatsoever in his government's thinking. Then noting the Lewis-Roche appointments he declared that they clearly demonstrate that his government is committed to "securing a durable peace."

Needless to say, not one of the galaxy of anti-nuclear arms leaders who attended the presentation uttered the slightest murmur of dissent, and it was not just out of respect of Mulroney's office. They do not want to upset a situation which they hope is opening up new possibilities of collaboration with the government. Through the simple act of putting Lewis on his government's payroll, Mulroney is out to get a hearing within the anti-nuclear arms movement itself which he hopes can lead to its defusion.

In response to the revelations of his governments' long-range commitments to extended Cruise testing in Canadian air space and its increasing adaptation to Reagan's heating up the situation towards an armed assault on the Nicaraguan revolution, the anti-war movement must firm up its ranks and fight back in this life or death struggle.

ANTHONY JENKINS

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RWL pulls rug from under convention

by Paul Kane

Socialist Voice, expressing the views of the Revolutionary Workers League and distributed to Ontario NDP delegates at its Hamilton convention, carried a prominent article headlined as the "Task before the convention." Taking up a full page of its total eight, it urged the delegates to "Reverse expulsions from the ONDP."

Presented by the editors as an abridgement of a previously published article protesting an earlier provincial council meeting ban against all members and supporters of the RWL it argued for the reinstatement of three members of the RWL and warned against the far-reaching implications of such a ban on the free exchange of ideas in the union-based party. With memories of the high cost to the party's democratic image that the expulsion of the left wing Waffle burned on their minds, the members of several riding associations passed protest resolutions that appeared in the resolutions book for the consideration of the assembling delegates.

Since none of these resolutions had been prioritized by the resolutions committee and therefore would not come to the floor of the convention without argument before the Appeals Committee, an appeal became an essential stage to even open up a protest on the matter, let alone reverse the council's ban. After hearing an appeal, should the committee refuse to prioritize any of these resolutions, its report to the assembled convention would have been subject to challenge by any delegate from the floor.

A St. George delegate appraoched persons associated with the protest resolutions with the intention of aiding anyone who might appear before the Appeals Committee. He was informed that as far as they were concerned there would be no appeal, and as for the RWL they were firmly opposed to anyone even initiating such an appeal. It was argued that the support that had been previously mustered behind the resolutions

expulsion protest

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passed by five different constituency associations had collapsed. It was also claimed, as would have seemed obvious from the very beginning, that any protest would be decisively defeated.

The same delegate brought the question of an appeal before a meeting of delegates supporting the Left Caucus. He expressed the opinion that a failure to even appeal would serve the leadership with the argument that it had the unanimous support of the party-in-convention in expelling dissidents. A rejoinder by a Dovercourt delegate to the effect that why should Left Caucus activists protest when those who were the immediate targets of the brass had no intention of doing so, swept the question aside.

The delegates also received at the opening of that session a leaflet announcing the RWL's decision to enter five candidates in the coming federal election — two in Ontario, two in Montreal and one in Vancouver for seats that as the official political arm of the organized labour movement the party is certain to contest. While still calling itself a league, this leaflet as has been an increasing tendency, designated the RWL a party. Since the NDP membership form requires a commitment to not being a member or supporter of any other political party this could only have jeopardized any fight against expulsions of RWLers.